17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

•861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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857 and is an imitation taking place even among children
868 who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have
[861 been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If
858] this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

[524] Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to her-
[594] self as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

• 861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing*. Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] [252] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

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Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying [857] is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned